

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

THE LAST DAYS AT MOUNT VERNON.

From the *Curtis Recollections and Private Memoirs of the Life and Character of Washington.*

On the 4th of March, 1797, WASHINGTON, as a private citizen, attended the dignified ceremony of the inauguration, as it was conducted in the ancient time, and was the first to pay his respects to the second President of the United States.

During the preparations for his departure from the seat of Government, the ex-President enjoyed an interchange of farewell visits with those in Philadelphia whom he had known so long and loved so well. Two new members were now added to the domestic family of Washington, in the persons of GEORGE WASHINGTON LAFAYETTE, and his tutor and friend, M. FRIESTEL. In 1796, these interesting Frenchmen sought refuge in the United States from the troubles of their native land. Presenting themselves to the President in Philadelphia, he received the young Lafayette with a warm embrace, saying to him, consider General Washington as your father, protector, and friend while you remain in this country; reasons of State prevent me, as President, from receiving you, gentlemen, at this time, as members of my domestic family. Arrangements will be made for your comfortable sojourn in New Jersey, for the short time that will intervene between the termination of my official duties; then, upon my retirement from all public affairs, you will be domiciliated among the most cherished members of my family and reside at Mount Vernon.

Several of the most distinguished of the French emigrants, some of them bringing letters from French officers who had served in the war of Independence, sought in vain to be received by the first President: among these were the celebrated Talleyrand, the Duc de Liancourt, Louis Philippe, then Duc d'Orleans, and his two brothers, Montpensier and Bojolais. The first President adhered to his rule, that upon mature consideration he had laid down for his government during the wars and troubles of European nations, viz: *Respect and consideration for our own affairs, with non-interference in the affairs of others.* Louis Philippe and brothers visited the retired chief during the "Last Days at Mount Vernon." The amiable Duc de Liancourt bore his reverse of fortune with great magnanimity. He used to say: In the days of my power and affluence, under the ancient regime of France, I kept fifty servants, and yet my coat was never as well brushed as it is now, when I brush it myself.

Many articles, both for useful and ornamental purposes, were forwarded from Philadelphia, and that the retired chief was in full employment upon his return to his ancient and beloved mansion, may be gathered from the following extract of a letter to the author of the *Recollections*, dated April 3d, 1797: "We are all in the midst of litter and dirt, 'occasioned by joiners, masons, painters, and upholsterers, working in the house, all parts of which, as well as the out-buildings, are much out of repair.' Mount Vernon, it is known, resembles a village, from there being some fourteen or fifteen buildings detached from each other; and, being nearly all constructed of wood, it may well be supposed that decay had made considerable progress, more especially when the master's absence during the War of the Revolution and the first Presidency amounted to sixteen years.

An event occurred on the 22d February, 1799, that, while it created an unusual bustle in the ancient halls, shed a bright gleam of sunshine on the "Last Days at Mount Vernon." It was the marriage of Major Lewis, a favorite nephew, with the adopted daughter of the chief. It was the wish of the young bride that the General of the Armies of the United States should appear in the splendidly embroidered uniform (the costume assigned him by the board of general officers) in honor of the bride; but alas, even the idea of wearing a costume bedizened with gold embroidery, had never entered the mind of the chief, he being content with the old Continental blue and buff, while the magnificent white plumes presented to him by Major-General Pinckney he gave to the young bride, preferring the old Continental cocked hat, with the plain black ribbon cockade, a type of the brave old days of '76.

The venerable master on returning to his home, found, indeed, many things to repair, with an ample field for improvement before him. With a body and mind alike sound and vigorous in their maturity, did he bend his energies to the task, while the appearance of every thing gave proofs of the taste and energy in the improvements that marked the last days at Mount Vernon.

A portrait of the illustrious farmer, as he rode on his farm the last days, may not be unacceptable to our readers. Fancy to yourself a fine noble-looking old cavalier, well mounted, sitting firm and erect in his saddle, the personification of power, mellowed yet not impaired by time, the equipments of his steed all proper and in perfect order, his clothes plain and those of a gentleman, a broad-brimmed white hat, with a small gold buckle in front, a riding switch cut from the forest, entirely unfringed; and thus you have Washington on his farm, in the last days at Mount Vernon.

His rides on his extensive estates would be from eight to twelve or fourteen miles; he usually moved at a moderate pace, passing through his fields and inspecting every thing; but when behind time, the most punctual of men would display the horsemanship of his better days, and a hard gallop bring him up to time, so that the sound of his horse's hoofs and the first dinner bell should be heard together at a quarter to three o'clock.

During the maritime war with France, the armed merchantmen that sailed from Alexandria would salute on passing Mount Vernon. On the report of the first gun, the General would leave his library, and, taking a position in the portico that fronts the river, remain there uncovered till the firing ceased. And yet another salute awakened the echoes around the shores of Mount Vernon; another act of homage was paid to the retired chief; and this was a homage of the heart, for it was paid by an old comrade in arms, while its echoes called up the memories of the past. A small vessel would be seen to skim along the bosom of the Potomac. Nearing the shore, the little craft furled her sails, let go her anchor, and discharged a small piece of ordnance; then a boat put off and pulled to the shore, and soon a messenger appeared, bearing a fine rock or drum fish, with the compliments of Benjamin Grymes, who resided some fifty miles down the river, and who was a gallant officer of the Life Guard in the War of the Revolution.

His great employment, and a constant stream of company, gave the General but little time to go abroad; still he occasionally visited his old and long-remembered friends in Alexandria. He attended a martial exhibition, representing an invasion by the French, which ended in an old-fashioned sham battle and the capture of the invaders. It was handsomely got up, and as at that time possessing a numerous and well-appointed military; and the whole went off with great effect.

Among many interesting relics of the past, to be found in the Last Days at Mount Vernon, was old Billy, the famed body-servant of the commander-in-chief during the whole of the War of the Revolution. Of a stout athletic form, he had from an accident become a cripple, and, having lost the power of motion, took up the occupation of a shoemaker for a subsistence. Billy carefully reconnoitred the visitors as they arrived, and when a military title was announced, the old body-servant would send his compliments to the soldier, requesting an interview at his quarters. It was never denied, and Billy, after receiving a warm grasp of the hand, would say,

"Ah, Colonel, glad to see you; we of the army don't see one another often in these peaceful times. Glad to see your honor looking so well; remember you at headquarters. The new-time people don't know what we old soldiers did and suffered for the country in the old war. Was it not cold enough at Valley Forge? Yes, was it; and I am sure you remember it was not enough at Monmouth. Ah, Colonel, I am a poor cripple; can't ride now, so I make shoes and think of the old times; the General often stops his horse here to inquire if I want any thing. I want for nothing, thank God, but the use of my limbs."

These interviews were frequent, as many veteran officers called to pay their respects to the retired chief, and all of them bestowed a token of remembrance upon the old body-servant of the Revolution.

It was in November of the last days that the General visited Alexandria upon business, and dined with a few friends at the City Hotel. Gadsby, the most accomplished of hosts, requested the General's orders for dinner, promising that there was good store of canvass-back ducks in the larder. Very good, sir, replied the chief, give me some of them with a chafin-dish, some hominy, and a bottle of good Madeira, and we shall not complain.

No sooner was it known in town that the General would stay to dinner, than the cry was for the parade of a new company, called the Independent Blues, commanded by Captain Peiray, an officer of the Revolution; the merchant closed his books, the mechanic laid by his tools, the drum and file went merrily round, and in the least possible time the Blues had fallen into their ranks, and were in full march for the headquarters.

Meantime the General had dined, had given his last glass of wine, when an officer of the Blues was introduced, who requested, in the name of Captain Peiray, that the Commander-in-Chief would do the Blues the honor to witness a parade of the corps. The General consented, and repaired to the door of the hotel looking toward the public square, accompanied by Col. Fitzgerald, Dr. Craik, Mr. Keith, Mr. Herbert, and several other gentlemen. The troops went through many evolutions with great spirit, and concluded by firing several volleys. When the parade was ended, the General ordered the author of the *Recollections* to go to Captain Peiray and express to him the gratification which he, the General, experienced, in the very correct and soldierly evolutions, marching, and firing of the Independent Blues. Such commendation, from such a source, it may well be supposed, was received with no small delight by the young soldiers, who marched off in fine spirits, and were soon after dismissed. Thus the author of the *Recollections* had the great honor of bearing the last military order issued in person by the Father of his Country.

Although much retired from the busy world, the chief was by no means inattentive to the progress of public affairs. When the post-bag arrived, he would select the letters, and lay them by for perusal in the seclusion of his library. The journals he would peruse while taking his single cup of tea, (his only supper), and would read aloud passages of peculiar interest, making remarks upon the same. These evenings with his family always ended precisely at nine o'clock, when Washington bade every one good night, and retired to rest to rise again at four, and to renew the same routine of labor and enjoyment that distinguished his last days at Mount Vernon.

The Revolutionary Letter.

MORRISTOWN, JANUARY 22, 1777.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 7th came to my hands a few days ago, and brought with it the pleasing reflection of your still holding me in remembrance.

The misfortune of short enlistments and the unhappy dependence upon militia have shown their baneful influence almost upon every occasion throughout the whole course of this war. At no time nor upon no occasion were they ever more exemplified than since Christmas; for, if we could have got in the militia in time, or prevailed upon those troops whose times expired, as they generally did, on the first of this instant, to have continued, (not more than 1,000 or 1,200 agreeing to stay,) we might, I am persuaded, have cleared the Jerseys entirely of the enemy. Instead of this, all our movements have been made with inferior numbers, and with a mixed motley crew, who were here to-day, gone to-morrow, without assigning a reason or even apprizing you of it. In a word, I believe I may with truth add, that I do not think that any officer since the creation ever had such a variety of difficulties and perplexities to encounter as I have.

How we shall be able to rub along till the new army is raised I know not; Providence has heretofore saved us in a remarkable manner, and on this we must principally rely.

Every person in every State should exert himself in the raising and marching of the new regiments to the army with all possible expedition. Those who want faith to believe the accounts of the shocking waste committed by Howe's army, of their ravaging, plundering, and abuse of woman, may be convinced by their sorrow perhaps, if a check cannot be put to their progress. It is painful to me to hear of such illiberal reflections upon the Eastern States as you say prevail in Virginia. I always have and always shall say, that I do not believe that any of the States produce better men or persons capable of making better soldiers, and we have found that wherever regiments are well officered, the men behave well; where the reverse, ill. Equal injustice is done them in depriving them of merit in other respects, for no people fly to arms readily, or come better equipped, or with more regularity into the field, than they.

I refer you to my letter to Lund Washington, which gives the late occurrences, and with love to Nelly and respects to Mr. Calvert's family.

I am yours affectionately.

GO. WASHINGTON.

TO JOHN PARKER CURTIS, Esq., Mount Vernon.

The Paternal Letter.

PHILADELPHIA, NOVEMBER 28, 1796.

DEAR WASHINGTON: In a few hasty lines covering your sister's letter on Saturday last, I promised to write more fully to you by the post of this day. I am now in the act of performing that promise.

The assurances you give me of applying diligently to your studies, and fulfilling those obligations which are enjoined by your Creator and due to his creatures, are highly pleasing and satisfactory to me. I rejoice in it on two accounts: First, as it is the sure means of laying the foundation of your own happiness, and rendering you, if it should please God to spare your life, a useful member of society hereafter; and, secondly, that I may, if I live to enjoy the pleasure, reflect that I have been in some degree instrumental in effecting these purposes.

You are now entering into that stage of life when good or bad habits are formed—when the mind will be turned to things useful and praiseworthy, or to dissipation and vice. Fix in whichever it may, it will stick by you; for you know it has been said, and truly, "That as the twig is bent, so will the tree grow." This is a strong point of view shows the propriety of letting your experience be directed by mature advice, and in placing guards upon the avenues that lead to idleness and vice. The latter will approach like a thief working upon your passions, encouraged perhaps by bad examples, the propensity to which will increase in proportion to the practice of it, and your yieldings. This admonition proceeds from the purest affection for you, but I do not mean by it that you are to become a stoic, or to deprive yourself in the intervals of study of any recreation or manly exercise which reason approves.

It is well to be on good terms with all your fellow students, and I am pleased to hear that you are so; but while a courteous behavior is due to all, select the most deserving only for your friendship, and before this becomes intimate weigh their dispositions and characters well. True friendship is a plant of slow growth; to be sincere there must be a congeniality of temper and pursuits. Virtue and vice cannot be allied, nor can industry and idleness of course. If you resolve to adhere to the two former of these extremes, an intimacy with those who incline to the latter of them would be extremely em-

barrassing to you; it would be a stumbling block in your way, and act like a millstone hung to your neck; for it is the nature of idleness and vice to obtain as many votaries as they can.

I would guard you, too, against imbibing hasty and unfavorable impressions of any one; let your judgment always balance well before you decide, and even then, where there is no occasion for expressing an opinion, it is best to be silent; for there is nothing more certain than that it is at all times more easy to make enemies than friends. Besides, to speak evil of any one, unless there is unequivocal proofs of their deserving it, is an injury for which there is no adequate reparation. Keep another thing also in mind, that scarcely any change would be agreeable to you at first, from the sudden transition, and from never having been accustomed to shift or to rough it, and, moreover, that if you meet with collegiate fare, it will be unmanly to complain. My paper reminds me that it is time to conclude, which I do, by subscribing myself affectionately, your sincere friend,

GO. WASHINGTON.

MR. GEO. WASHINGTON PARKER CURTIS.

FAREWELL ADDRESS

OF  
PRESIDENT WASHINGTON,  
TO THE  
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive Government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you at the same time to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength if my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on this perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the Government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to fidelity of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential part of the efforts and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent reflection, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be afforded to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel; nor can I forget, as an encouragement to you, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of Government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts; of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest; here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common Government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the sea-men of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communication by land and water will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign Power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parties combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionally greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same Government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of Government, are insupportable to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common Government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of Governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs, as a matter of serious concern, that our ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Pacific*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that treaty throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the *Mississippi*; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, one with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations towards confirming their prosperity. Will it then be wisdom to rely on the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of Government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unswayed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of Government; but the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize force, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are, in the course of time and things, to become popular engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your Government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite,

not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretence. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all Governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party division, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one party against another; foment, occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the Government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and, in Governments of a monarchical or aristocratic form, it may be true, if not with favor upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume it.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of Government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to warn us of the impropriety of placing in the hands of one man, or even of a few men, the reins of Government. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal, against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our own country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation;—for that, under our forms, is the real change; must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation;—for that, under our forms, is the real change; must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation;—for that, under our forms, is the real change; must be as necessary as to institute them.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular Government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free Government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense, by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent a greater expenditure by defeating the danger. Another method is to pay debts on time, and to keep the public faith. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue, that if revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be levied which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality support this conduct; and, as it is that good policy demands it, let it be the duty of the people, to be enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! it is rendered impossible by the passions.

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amiable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is, in some degree, a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, dis-

poses each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, upon accidental or trifling occasions of dispute. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, even bloody, and bloody contentions, to which the pride and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

Likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation to another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy to the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and animosity of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; agitating with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable desire of public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic opinion, to practice the art of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I mean the senseless jealousy of foreign nations; the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I mean the senseless jealousy of foreign nations; the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I mean the senseless jealousy of foreign nations; the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I mean the senseless jealousy of foreign nations; the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I mean the senseless jealousy of foreign nations; the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I mean the senseless jealousy of foreign nations; the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I mean the senseless jealousy of foreign nations; the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I mean the senseless jealousy of foreign nations; the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I mean the senseless jealousy of foreign nations; the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I mean the senseless jealousy of foreign nations; the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I mean the senseless jealousy of foreign nations; the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I mean the senseless jealousy of foreign nations; the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that the insidious wiles of foreign influence (